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THE KINGDOM.

—BY—

FREDERIC GREGORY FORSYTH,
Member of the Virginia Historical Society, etc.
—Viscount de Frouzac,

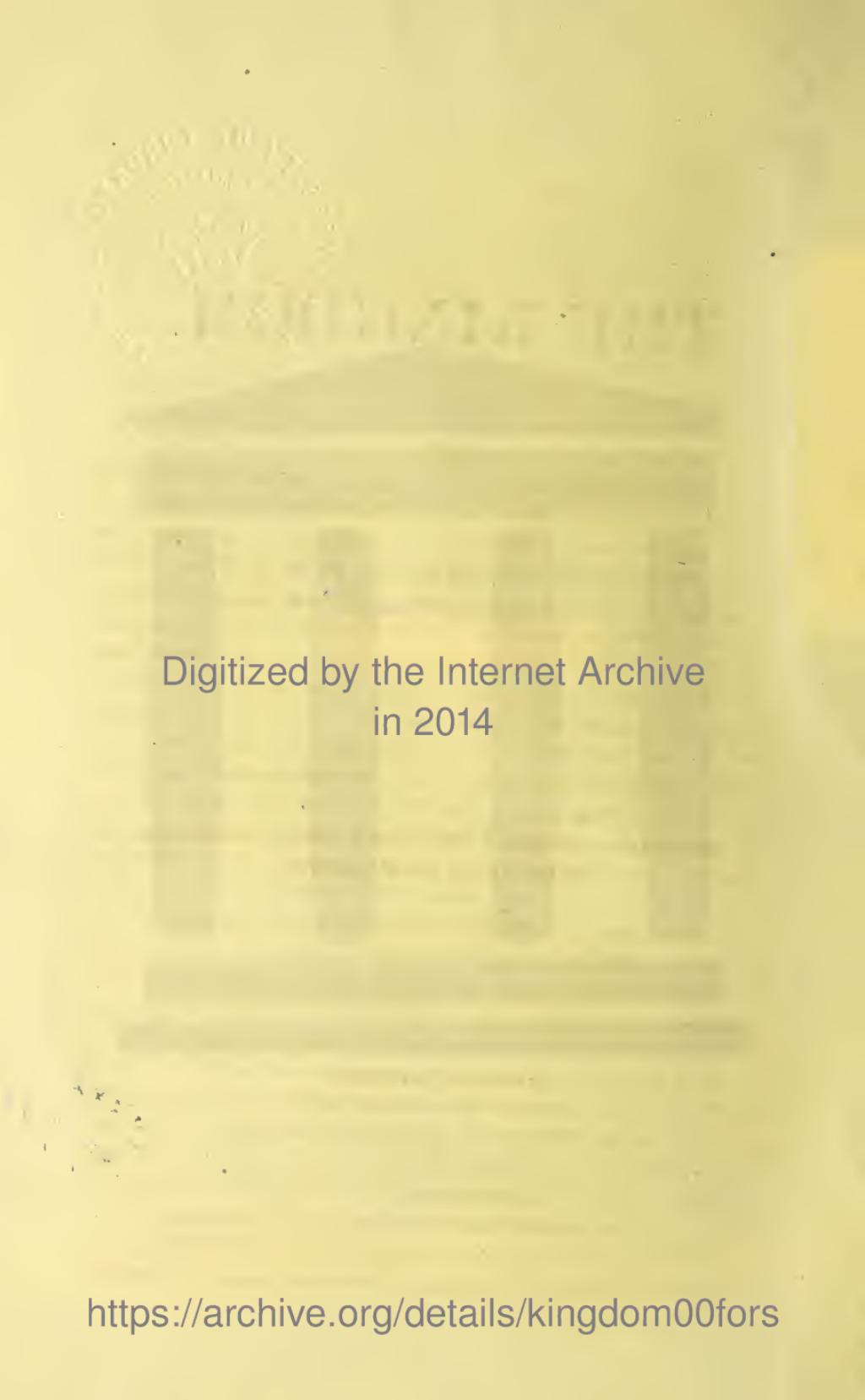
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THE KINGDOM.

BY FREDERIC GREGORY FORSYTH,
OF VIRGINIA.

Col. Henry Spottswood, a Virginian, formerly an officer of the late Confederate States of America, at present a friend of the Comte de Paris, residing now in France, contemplates this pleasant morning while seated in the Club of the Strangers at Paris, the news of the day—that the royalist dames of France have had engraved on their note-paper a royal crown obscured by a cloud, beneath which is the legend, “It needs but a gust of wind.” His enthusiasm, so easily expressible on his warm Southern countenance, draws the attention of another club *hâbitué*. Spottswood, seeing the enquiring look, proffers his journal, and calls attention to the spirited manner of the device—“So epigrammatic,” says he; “so characteristic of that ancient gallant society of the Court, when intelligence delighted to reveal itself by the most striking of dramatic postures!”

The gentleman to whom this address had been delivered being Jean Regnies, a radical and representative of the republican form of government in France, is naturally disturbed by the enthusiasm manifested by Spottswood for the royalist device. Spottswood being known to him slightly, he says: “How can you, being an American, pretend to so much joy over an emblem which is inimical to an institution in this country—the Republic—which is like the government of your own land in principle? I am well aware that you, as an officer of the Confederate States army, fought against that government, but you served, even then, under a republican form and by the account of your bravery, imperilled your life for the kind of government to which you seem to be antagonistic in France—your adopted country.”

Spottswood considered awhile before replying: "To the surface-contemplation my expression does seem queer. Yet, after all, what men fight for is the maintenance of the sentiment of patriotism. This is coming directly to the root of the matter; it is the form of government about which this sentiment is entwined. Sentiment is organic; it is a long while in growing. Moss will not grow on new stones, and a stone continually changing its form and position never gains any moss. It is the same with nationality. Sentiment contains all the high emotions. These are feelings of pride for historic grandeur, and patriotism because that grandeur has been connected for generations to families in the state whose greatness has been fostered by them. Now, sentiment in America is involved in the republic. No other form of government, were the republic well-administered, could excite in the American heart so much of the feeling of veneration or pride. A limited monarchy might appeal to the reason, but it is not reason that gives to action its necessary impulse; it is emotion—sentiment. Self-interest, truly, in time, may cause a limited monarchy to appear as the next form of the American government; but it will be strong only in proportion to the clearness with which it exhibits republican precedents and preserves in all its integrity the history of past greatness. Even in America a limited monarchy would not be so strange as a republic in France. There was a time before the war of American Independence, when the colonies, now States, were subject to have the appointment of their chief officers from the British Crown. Now the history of colonial family greatness has perhaps as much of *social prestige* in America as the history of families connected with the States. The arms and titles borne by colonial families are held in distinguished memory. Besides, association has drawn the lines of intercommunication with Great Britain closer and closer as time has caused to heal the wounds which past dissensions have caused. Although the great body of the American people—"

Here M. Regnies interrupted—"That was what I was about to observe. The great body of American people still, I believe, from what is current, is against the form of the British government, and antagonistic to the British people."

"Yes," Col. Spottswood rejoined, "you are correct, and strange as contradiction itself, which it is, you are incorrect. Whenever people are aroused against any person or thing, it is accomplished in the same manner as with animals, i. e., by a stirring up. They are appeased in the same manner as are animals, i. e., by good food and good treatment. The Canadas, under British rule and contiguous to the United States, have in the reports of their colonization the figures which attest to the permanent settlement of thousands of native American citizens who afterwards became the best of British subjects. The last report of the Canadian government on this subject was to the effect that more people settled in Canada from the United States than had gone from Canada to the States. Before the war between the States, abolitionists of the North made coalition with those of their persuasion in Canada, to assist runaway slaves; and after the close of the war many Southern families sought refuge from the flaggellations of a triumphant radical faction in the Federal government. This at once goes to prove that people, judging from these samples, are indifferent to the form of government, and will tolerate any which will serve, as in these cases, to further their material interests or prejudices, or for just protection.

M. Regnies : That is just for what we established the republic in France. Under the monarchy we had no protection."

Spottswood : And that is just the argument used in America in favor of a limited monarchy. When the majority rules the law must yield whenever the majority says so; while when there is a convention, or constitution formed between the monarchy and the people, the monarchy, being physically feebler, and strong only in the moral support of the conventions of the constitution, maintains that constitution with all the powers of state, because that is the basis of its own existence.

Regnies : Do you mean to say that the constitution of the monarchy was not repeatedly broken in France under Louis XIV, and in Great Britain under Charles I?

Spottswood : Yes, it was broken, but not by them. When the dignities and offices of the ancient barons of France gave place to intendants appointed by the crown, the crown never

considered that the families of these intendants, tax-gatherers, procurors, syndicts and others, when the attempt was made under Mazarine to reform the abuses of power of these people, and correct their peculations which defrauded the people on the one hand and the monarchy on the other, that these families incorporated as the civil-service and parliament to the number of 50,000 in France would form a "Union," and actually, by using the immense influence their numbers and position gave them among the people, declare war against the monarchy. They usurped the prerogative of the executive, as occurred in the war of the Frondeurs, and were successful. This "corporation" or "company" was continued in power. Its monopoly of jurisdiction swallowed up the constitution of France, (as seen in Martin's *Hist. de Fr.*, vol. xii ; Taine's *Ancient Regime and Jacobin Conquest*.)

Regnies : But these occurred under the monarchy and the monarchy is responsible.

Spottswood : Indeed ! Then when a people fails to keep its allegiance the monarch is to blame for such failure !

Regnies : Certainly ! He must maintain the government at all odds, or he and the people will suffer for lack of government like what was suffered under the "Reign of Terror."

Spottswood : I agree with you there. The Reign of Terror is a lesson to every government. It is a guide-post to show that the foundation of every government must be self-maintenance—without which nothing can be done. Now, in France the republic issuing from this failure on the part of monarchy is deplorable. The first republic was born in the hour of the state's weakness and continued in that excess of passion which in a state is anarchy, until it was eclipsed by the empire. The second republic was the result of a similar failure in the monarchy ; was continued in contention until overpowered by the second empire. The third republic, of a like origin, is the child of disaster and of national humiliation. Yet, with the brazen boldness of demagogues—excuse me, M. Regnies, present company always excepted—it is proclaimed that the "Republic is Peace !" This "Peace" means that as a first-rate nation France holds a third-rate position. It cannot, from very weakness, quarrel with nations that are great

powers, but its exploits hereafter are to be directed among African tribes, to be brought to an ignominious close whenever the gun-boats of Germany, or Great Britain, or Russia, or Spain, or Austria, or Italy, shall say so. It means that diplomacy, even of "Peace," among the most intelligently-governed nations is practically closed to France. With savages and barbarians alone is it to haggle.

M. Regnies here became excited: "Would you impute to all republics such a destiny?" said he. "It seems that you are very inconsistent. For, although you deny sentiment and history to the republic of France, you cannot add ability to the republic of the United States without permitting it as a possibility, to our government also. Granting all you say to be true, the history of the American republic shows other things than this."

Spotswood: You forget that from the commencement of the American government the best elements that royalty had previously preserved took part in the struggle for a constitutional representation of the colonies in the British government, until the rupture between the two portions of the empire was so great as not to be closed, and the American republic was formed from these conservative elements. For some generations afterwards these had so great an influence over the nation as to form the ruling class, and what made these so great in historic grandness was the ideal republic of the philosophers which they dreamed and were endeavoring to realize. But practice of majorities gained demagogues a hearing, finally an influence superior to that of the ancient regime. The government was corrupted by civil strife and the constitution was prostrated for vicious amendments.

Regnies: Is not the will of the people sufficient for the formation of new laws and constitutions when that will is the voice of the majority?

Spotswood: No! It is an immoral doctrine. The minority has a right that is of ethical import. If ten men stipulate with one and afterwards change their minds what is to be done? The ten must leave the one, or the one must leave the ten. The latter is the only solution of the difficulty known to law, private and international, but this is not the practice of

radicals; they wish to ruin superior communities and classes that can only be maintained by conservative means, like as the *sans culottes* wished to ruin the *elite* of France in '98. It is only under radical rule that official position is degraded in the eyes of society which proves society to be excluded from politics and polities to be beneath society in such cases. Thus the radicals in the United States, who are necessarily of the lower orders, fail to comprehend, while at the same time social position and political standing are at variance in the United States, and the best classes begin to despise the republic as a miserable failure—both, as you say, because of the republican doctrine that the will of the people is superior to law and ethics, and because of the presumption of office-holders before the aristocracy.

Regnies: You must not suppose, because I spoke ill of the Reign of Terror a short time ago, that I do not favor the grand spirit of the French revolution which liberated us all from that thraldom of that monarchy you seem to be so desirous of seeing established ultimately in America and soon in France. What have you to say to the abuses known to have existed under Charles I of England for example, abuses which reduced that mighty realm powerless before Europe; but when corrected by Cromwell made the nation assume the prominent position in international affairs that able administering gave it?

Spottswood: In closing up these fundamental questions to get upon ground of common understanding I did not, indeed, refer to Charles I because I did not think it belonged directly to the discussion. But if you believe otherwise, I will say that Professor Hearn in his *history of the government of England* has amply demonstrated that Charles I in his claims of prerogative was truly constitutional; that where he failed was in his petulant weakness. There was always an inveterate hatred by the great English people to the Scottish family of Stuart and the same prerogatives that were constitutional to Charles I were not only exercised unconstitutionally by Cromwell, but so great was the stretch of arbitrary power with him that he suppressed, at one time parliament altogether, ruling as a despot—and this without much ado being made of it by

the English people. Then again the same unlimited license only of a more bloody and terrible character was exercised in France by Robespierre, Marat and others, who had usurped the position of the constitutional monarchy in France. These examples show, again, that the people care nothing for the extravagancies, immoralities and excesses of authority of their rulers provided such do not materially effect them. The imposition of a tax in a legal manner has always been more unpopular than the infringement of laws that do not affect the rabble's pocket, while the rabble by such employment live off the property of the minority.

Regnies : Possibly you are correct, for these same taxes imposed legally, but exorbitant in their demands, impoverishing the nations, beggaring the people, filling the provinces with starvation and the cities with dread and tumult, were what brought about the revolution you pretend to despise, and established a government—as you say in America—by the people and for the people, so the people can tax themselves according to their means and not toil out their existence for the support of a luxurious class whose extravagance placed it beyond the bar of pity in '98.

Spottswood : I am glad you brought that argument into your side of the discussion, because it enables me to revert to French history for its refutation. In the legitimate ambition of the monarchy for unity, the kings from the time of Philip Augustus began to appoint officers to receive the revenues of the provinces which formerly were paid through the hands of the feudal aristocracy. The reason for this was because the feudal aristocracy in their prerogative of independent lords of their own domains, according to the feudal constitution of France, were at times of ill-humor, slow of payment, and the monarchy was thus made to depend upon its dependancies. It was to correct this state of affairs that the master mind of Richelieu was at work, and the number of officers of royal commission in the provinces were multiplied purposely to strengthen the monarchy. These were syndics, procureurs, intendants. These offices were often sold, or rented, the price went to the government, the revenue to the purchasers—so great sometimes were the exigencies of state among foes exter-

nal and internal. Richelieu, however, held full head against this corporation of farmers of revenue who were also known as the company of parliament—which in itself was inimical to the monarchy—and he played it off against the feudal barons until he was succeeded by Mazarine who was much less able to frustrate the effect of the evil practices. Reformation must be had, he knew. The provinces were groaning under taxation, yet with all this taxation Martin's *Histoire de France* says, the royal kitchen was itself in want and sometimes the dinner was threatened to be lacking to the court. But where went all this money? Ask of the parliamentarian company, the corporation of the civil service, that made war upon the court when Mazarine, in the name of the monarchy, attempted to correct abuses. This company consisted of 50,000 families employed as vampires, in sucking the blood of the nation for themselves, in the name of the monarchy, and as the monarchy had the name it became odious to the people, and by this means the company as the first frondeurs, obtained its victory and continuation in power. From this time until the revolution this corporation or union ruled France. Its members became rich. The feudal aristocracy withered away. The monarchy declined. The republic became possible, since it is the home of corporate excesses, and, behold, the Reign of Terror was dominated by a man of this same “company” whose members had honestly assisted to ruin France. This civil service everywhere—of what does it consist? It is neither of statesmen nor soldiers; it is not of men who do the state service of genius, but it is of the laborers for hire—clerks, tax-gatherers, etc., in vast numbers. In the United States they and theirs rule the country. The radical party in power has in office 200,000 families—four times the number that ruined the stronger government of France. Men of this class in the United States have stolen from the government, as has been exhibited by many exposures like that of the “Star Route Trial,” but have had power sufficient to get themselves acquitted. They have formed a coalition, as the same sort of people did in France, with politicians and demagogues for the purpose of continuing themselves in power. They now, in the United States, in an elective form of government, are to hold

office for life or "during good behavior." Were the acquitted Star-routers on "good behavior?" One of the politicians allied with this movement and with other crimes, in spite of condemnation of a court of trial as a perjurer and receiver of stolen bonds, was elected President, and upon his death, his name—like that of Marat—was inscribed as great and his statue proposed to be placed by the side of that of Washington. Moreover, did not this same "corporation" or party in power decree against the results of a popular election, and is it not world-wide known that Tilden was elected President by the people in 1876, but that Hayes was made President by this same sort of civil service people in America that brought ruin upon France? Now the 11th and 12th volumes of Martin's *Histoire de France* are amply sufficient, when taken with the history of the like civil service in America, as practiced in the lobbies of Congress and in the political associations of the day, to demonstrate that it is the republic these leeches and vampires favor and not the monarchy. It is the republic they can control entirely, but not the monarchy so long as monarchy lasts. It should not be forgotten that during the 1st *fronde* pamphlets were written by the civil service party demanding vehemently the republic.

Regnies : But did not the monarchy originally appoint these men?

Spottswood : Yes, they were appointed as an offset to a turbulent feudal nobility whose endeavors for feudal independence, if unchecked, would have made of France a conglomeration of petty principalities like those of the former Germany, continually at war with each other, if not entirely subverted by some consolidated monarchy neighbouring them, as the Spanish or Austrian. You must recollect that while the parliamentarian co-operation formed the 1st *Fronde*, the feudal aristocracy formed the 2d; that the 1st *Fronde* was against monarchy eternally, while the 2d *Fronde* made coalition with the monarchy for the correction of abuses. One of the writers of that age declares against the parliament in this manner: "Il est honteux que par le renversement des anciennes lois des jeunes écoliers deviennent, au sortir du collège, les arbitres de la fortune publique par la vertu d'une peau de parchemin

qui couté 60,000 écus." No plainer position could be taken. The "company" or "corporation" of civil service and parliament having control of all the offices, sold commissions to indifferent individuals—to those not connected with the body of the state. This introduction of a foreign element into the composition of the state was at the time darkly delineated by the Bishop of Comminge in these words : " La France est un corps composé de tiers members, le clergé, la noblesse et le tiers état: un quartième membre ne pent se joindre à ce corps sans qu'il en result un monstre terrible." This terrible monster was the succeeding republic. How full of prophecy was the far-seeing Bishop ? With this corporation of office-holders constructed in a parliament for control of the affairs of the realm there necessarily resulted a great change. Every arrangement of the court and States General for the réformation of the civil service was always resisted by the company constituting the civil service. It was through the civil service that all revenue came as taxes from the people. Instituted originally by the monarchy, it became after a time independent of the monarchy. It gained wealth for its members by wringing money from the people and withholding it from the state while the monarchy alone received the odium. This odium the "corporation" increased with the people, and when the States General finally did assemble, the company from its provincial and municipal parliaments (preceding the Reign of Terror) refused to obey the orders of the States General and the king, although the former (States General) was composed of representatives of the clergy, nobility and people. These civil service men brought on anarchy and favored the republic. It is well-known by the figures of M. Taine that these anarchists were in the minority ; that they were a corporation ; that they could not exist so long as lasted the monarchy ; that they proceeded by bribery and the hiring of sans culottes to terrorize the better classes to let them do as they pleased in monopolizing the government. It is a fact that the monster of a distinct body living upon another—each having an independent organism—will enfeeble and derogate the body suffering from such a process. In a government of a majority, as a republican is, the members of a present majority may find

themselves in a minority at some other time. The government during this other time is administered by their rivals and against them politically. They are not, then, represented in the government. As a political party, or corporation, they remain distinct and are hostile to the government, as such. If they ever again gain control they will administer affairs according to their own corporate existence and work hard to confirm themselves in power regardless of the interests of the government as a government. They know no government beyond their own party, or corporation, in the same manner as did the "company" in France, which, knowing itself to have control of the offices in spite of court and States General desired to rule. Its absolute rulership could be obtained only by abolishing king and States General, which it did. The same thing is witnessed in every republic. In the United States, for example, the civil service is composed of 200,000 families. It is in the civil service that the power of political parties resides, since it is there that the revenues of government are collected and assembled, and these give funds for bribery at elections. Outside of this civil service have been formed civil service clubs whose declaration is, that all members found competent shall not be turned out whenever a party changes. But the radicals are in power now, and as they have appointed the civil-service, and as in every town the friends and relatives of the civil service have formed these clubs for this purpose, and as the great railroad and other corporations—distinct from government yet obtaining subsidies of money and grants of public land in exchange for the influence of their alliance to keep the party of their favor in power, as with these—it is impossible to free the country from the vampires, i. e., from those who belong to parties independent of government yet existing off of the fruits of government. Nothing is one thing and another at the same time, and as there is nothing permanent to a republican form of government, those who administer it at this season may be those who were antagonistic to it last, and as a body are, on account of periodic elections, antagonistic to some portion of what government consists of all the time. They govern in the name of party and not for the nation. Behold the corruption, accounts of which have filled the news-

papers in America for the last thirty years. In France, this last year of 1883 how many members of the radical government were found to be in the pay—the salaried servants—of railroad and other corporations, to take money from the government for the purchase of such while the control of such railroads was to be still in the hands of their former owners. This is the monster that the good bishop of Comminge foresaw, and these are the results of introducing into government bodies such as only can be compatible with a republican form, having a distinct existence from government, living off of the nation, and purchasing the votes of favor of the nation with the nation's own money.

Regnies: You seem to forget that in a monarchy the government is, also, a corporation!

Spottswood: No! I do not. That is the advantage of it because the corporation is for the government, its constitution—the constitution by which it is held together—is the constitution of state, which it is, itself, also. In a republic the constitutions of the political parties are often inimical to that of the state; their existences are separate; the constitution of the state may be broken by such a party with impunity, because with its own corporate existence intact, as a majority in power, it may, and does do as it pleases, while those out of this party in the state have no claim upon the government for favor and are not represented. In a monarchy the king represents no one party but the nation. To show how utterly without honor are these political corporations in a republic, take the United States upon the accession of the new party of 1861. The platform of this party was formed antagonistic to the United States constitution and promotive of civil strife. By the laws of the United States the officials of government are sworn to support the constitution, which is the supreme law of the land. The administration of 1861 took such an oath. But it was elected by a party having a platform antagonistic to this constitution, which platform they, by becoming candidates for office, had promised to carry out when elected. If they did not carry out this platform they would lose the support of the corporation that had given them power. If they did carry out the platform they became perjurors, and

subject to impeachment for breach of oath of office. But who—fallacy of fallacies—were to try them if they broke oath of office in carrying out the party's platform that had elected them for that very purpose? Why, officers of the government who were elected to do the very same thing, and had been given offices only with the understanding that they would do all in their power to this end. Among other things, then, was not the writ of *habeas corpus* unconstitutionally suspended, and thereby all persons not of the party in the United States made liable to arrest and imprisonment without hearing or trial! Were not then proclamations issued usurping authority the constitution never gave the executive? Did the administrations then suffer impeachment? No! When the Congress of this party met, they passed acts authorizing as legal these same proclamations and decreed that they should be constitutional! Only think! A government founded upon a constitution, deriving authority for its acts from powers enumerated in the constitution, taking powers not enumerated to the end of its own interest as inscribed in its platform of independent existence to the government itself. What greater condemnation can a republic have than this! The government of a nation by adverse corporations of factions, each inimical to the whole of the public good, anarchic in tendency when national constitution and party platform collide, and bringing into power—as one of your Paris journals has said in regard to this railroad scheme of 1883—“men raised among thieves, as happen in the United States and all other republics”—men who must be either faithless to their party, therefore powerless themselves, or perjurors to the carrying out of what is against their oath of office.

Regnies : Very true! But the people will correct these things at a succeeding election, while if they happen under a monarchy there is no such remedy as this public emetic to make the state throw off the obstruction.

Spottswood : You speak as if the people were composed of individuals who are truly disconnected units, similar each to each, so far as mental impressions are concerned, but independent in regard to actions in the truth of these impressions, so far as associated interest is concerned. It is the associated

interest that controls elections, not the truth or falsity of mental impressions of affairs and officers connected with government. Man can be influenced by but two kinds of sentiment—ethical and material. Ethical sentiment being the sum total of mental qualities of good connected by association with individuals, like orders of nobility and honor, are unknown in republics and forbidden, there remain only the material sentiments, or those associated with individuals in business prosperity. The administration of affairs, limited in republics to these, has the only legitimate interest of the people in it. A man in business or material interest is united to other men, such as in a railroad corporation, to gain money from all other individuals in the state by doing business with them for a profit. Here is at once formed in a community of individual votes a basis for a rally of individual exertion by corporate means for political efforts to increase the corporate good, and finally, the individual prosperity in the same manner as a unit of the corporation. Thus in a republic, where the government is out to be raffled for among millions of individual voters, that corporation or union of corporations having similar pursuits, desires and interests, having the greatest number interested will have the greatest influence with the party. As these moneyed corporations are for moneyed ends, their political continuations are for adjuncts to the same; and no matter what the party is that is in power in a republic, the corporations of moneyed interest are sure to throw all their influence in favor of the office-holders of that party—but only for compensation. Thus, as in the United States, bargains are made with the people in power for a short time, by corporations, for mutual advantage. The bargain is that the corporation shall cause their men and employés to vote for the maintenance of the party, and that the politicians shall favor monopolies. I appeal again to the history of the United States for illustrations of the truth of this. A certain steel company paid many thousand dollars into the Radical party's election fund in 1880, as was published in the journals of that year, together with the amounts paid by other corporations. Now, these are money-making, not political, corporations, and when they give political influence it is to make money out of it. If

the United States were as populous per square mile as France, the thievings of the last thirty years would have produced so much misery that starvation would have incited the people to revolt, and anarchy would have ensued worse by far than what is described to have been in France. We have already seen that the many wars of foreign origin and for national existence did much for this in France, but the worse was done by that corporated civil-service that could not continue its existence under a monarchy, and therefore sighed for and obtained a republic whose extravagance was extinguished by Napoleon Bonaparte. The efforts of the people as individual voters are less effectual to rid the state of these vampires, who always come to the front in republics, than are the "strikes" of laborers against the same in the business world. Corporations must exist. They are to civilization necessary to carry out those undertakings which uncombined efforts cannot accomplish. When, however, a government is to be voted for periodically, these corporations can, by combined effort, control a majority as they do in the American and French republics. It is bad for the people to have a government in the hands of those whose sole purpose is to make laws for their own business prosperity; to grant themselves subsidies and loans; to run affairs of state auxiliary to their counting-house schemes. The Duke of Somerset has been controverting the mis-statements of John Bright by figures taken directly from American returns. Somerset shows that in no country are private fortunes so great, and nowhere is the influence of money in society and government so pernicious as in the United States. So long as a man is poor, in America, he is nobody. Everything else is at a discount beside of money, and under the vulgar, abusive and corrupt administration of this moneyed class, controlling, as it does, with its hired politicians, the destinies of the country, the direst of futures is to be looked for to America. In a monarchy a lecherous class like this can not get entire control, because the government is always established and its permanency causes the true interests of the state to be its interest. In republics the dominating corporation being permanent as a business affair, does not have its interests allied to the government it controls, because that

government is not permanent with it. Therefore, the interests of government are subverted to its own, and the affairs of state suffer.

Regnies ; Before terminating this discussion allow me to ask why, in speaking of the American Republic, you confine yourself to the last thirty years ? Was not the government republican before these years ? and if republics are bad, how do you account for this difference of glory and shame ?

Spottswood ; The nature of the epoch which inaugurates a government shows the nature of the people in control. You must be aware that there have been two republics in America. The glorious conservative republic, originating in the struggle of the best people of the British colonies of America to preserve the rights of their ancestors against the encroachments of the London Parliament, that wished to take away the charters from the American portion of the British empire in order to make a monopoly of interests for the English portion, was the first. The conservative party is always the party allied with the interests of the state as the state has been from time immemorial. It, therefore, contains within itself the dominant society—people born to power and bred to consider the interests of state. Then the history of the conservative republic of the United States until its close, in 1859, is the history of that element to which belong the names of Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau, Pulaski, De Steuben, Knox, Lee, Marion, Pickering, Pinckney. These were men who belonged to families conservative in the sense of being allied with the established order of government and society, and to show their preference for the same form of government as the one from which they had separated, they, united in the Order of the Cincinnati, offered Washington the crown of America, which the clamors of the mean and ignoble herd of radicals caused him to refuse for fear of another war. Now these radicals were men who were not connected with the dominant conservative society, long accustomed to administer justice and uphold the law; they were men who took no part in the struggle for American independence, but who came up afterwards, who were jealous of the prominence in which the fall of kingly authority left the chief spirits of the war; and, like Burke, of

South Carolina, wrote against the Order of the Cincinnati, saying it monopolized all offices and was forming an aristocracy. This was true and not true. The officers went back and took the positions, as a general rule, they had occupied in the community before the war, only after the war they seemed more prominent, because united in the Order of the Cincinnati. This, of itself, goes to show what sort of men they were who entered the fight as leaders—the best society; and in spite of the radicals they continued in power until the overthrow of the Constitution in 1861. Then, in the South, the whites were debarred from electing their officers as representatives, and the former slaves were called to enjoy the privilege. In the North the corporations and the “shoddy” of society, that had sprung up since the civil war, sent the meanest demagogues they could buy to do service for them in government. And this was the beginning of the radical republic—in the overthrow of the Constitution, in disaster to the whole nation, and in humiliation to a part of it. To the shame and the disgrace of the whole, the sharks and vultures of humanity control affairs. This is so true that republican newspapers in the United States have inquired, like the *New York Herald*, why there are no gentlemen in politics; and have decided that it is because the political concerns of the country have fallen into the hands of “bread-and-butter politicians”—into the hands of men who go to make money out of the government by representing the meanest and most contemptible interests of corporations for the same end, that gentlemen not only feel themselves disgraced by such company, but even if they did not, would be unable to find any support to an election, since if it were possible for an honorable man to be in dishonorable company, and be less than a hypocrite, merit, based upon consciousness of itself, never will appeal to popularity. There are, therefore, two parties in America: 1, the popular demagogues under control of corporations, now in power; 2, and the meritorious, now in discontent. Thus, so far as the republic in America of the last thirty years is concerned with history, its character, founded upon the degradation of several of the States, is taken from the meanness and dishonesty of the men who control affairs. Their names

show they are "new men," and the society from which they came prove them to be of a tradition foreign to the historic society of the nation, which last is now in abeyance, and thoroughly convinced that the republic is a failure.

Regnies : What, sir ! You do not mean to say that there is an anti-republican society in America !

Spottswood : Yes, there is, and always has been ! It is stronger now than ever, on account of the disgrace with which the history of the government covers the nation. The publication of the "Dorsey Letters" and "Interviews," the "Garfield and Ames Trial," the "Star-Route Trial," the "Blaine and Mulligan Letters," and a thousand others, all well known through their infamy, are what are breaking up all connection between "society and government." You know it is a complaint of how un-American American society is; how it panders after "British precedents;" sports coats-of-arms, titles of aristocratic origin and royal tradition. Are such things generally favorable to the republican government in America ? Have you forgotten the New York *Imperialist* newspaper ? Now when it is known that "society" consists of the well-born and well-bred of the nation, and that it does these things as a whole, establishing heraldic associations connected with European, containing descendants of colonial aristocracy and of that ancient and monachically-inclined Order of the Cincinnati—an order composed of those who laid the foundations of American independence—it must be understood that the better people of America, without respect to conditions of wealth or poverty, are against the present form of government. The feeling is growing and is proof that with the best the "republic is a failure," as Hamilton predicted it would be. In America the republic once was glorious, but it was glorious with men of the monarchy. In France the republic never was glorious; it was born in sin and shame, and those who gave it birth were the sinful and shameful of the population. No man can cling to such and be free from taint; he must abdicate authority or honor, because honorable deeds and memories are not connected with the French republic; and the men who can support what is the negation of these have no admiration for what is good and great.

PART II.

Dinner-time was now arrived and the gentlemen separated with an agreement to continue the discussion afterwards. Regnies said he was specially interested in the sentiment of the better American people as enlightening him in those things wherein before he had ignorance. After dinner they met again, M. Regnies bringing with him a German gentleman, Baron Von Poppenheim. After they were comfortably seated, M. Regnies said: "I have been looking over the works you referred to in our last conversation, and must confess that my faith is considerably shaken in the practised republic. I have there found calm, dispassionate statements with references to the laws and constitutions of those countries. I find in kingdoms that the Court is, indeed, the great corporation but its interests are the state's—the people's; while in republics corporations of other interests have opportunity to possess control of the state and to subvert the interests of the people to their own. I find the expense of election—like those held in the United States—is very great, costing, as in the state of Ohio alone, on one side for one presidential election, over \$2,000,000. Besides, thoughtful men like Gov. S. J. Tilden, of New York, are heard to say that "the putting out to traffic raffle for periodically the powers of 50,000,000 people must needs be accompanied with frauds and irregularities whose dreadful effects the future alone can reveal." I find it believed that Gov. Tilden is the successor of that great republican politician, Thomas Jefferson, whose efforts defeated the endeavors of the Cincinnati to make Washington king; and that Jefferson had as much suspicion of the power of the people as he had of the power of kings, providing, as he did, "checks" to popular government by whose influence he vainly hoped to stay the control of popular corporations when they are possessed—as they inevitably become possessed—of power of government, from making of that power a monopoly. From the history of American polities, I find that no country under the sun has had so many base men in power, absolutely under control of corporations becoming monopolists of government, controlling the interests of the people for themselves. I also

find, as you say, that whenever there has been a dispute about the prerogatives of kings, that the royalists have always had legal precedents, but in the doings of republics that there have always been illegal procedures, like the confiscation of the Van Rensselaer estate in New York; the proceedings of the government of 1861; the usurpation of the Cromwellian government of England; the illegal procedure of the Stattholder of Holland, William of Orange; the frightful and altogether lawless condition of affairs under the first French Republic; and in almost every form of government by the majority, I find that some powerful faction becomes incorporated in this majority, which, while controlling the majority, is itself a minority composed of unprincipled demagogues playing upon the passions of their ignorant following. I find, too, that under this control the best interests of the people who are wise enough to see and understand and be above the condition of dupes—shunning a position of dishonor—are entirely neglected and often preyed upon by the faction. This “society” is always inimical to republican forms of government; and in saying this it is declaring that men of honor, culture and breeding do not believe in republics, as being contrary to human liberty and to the true interests of the people. I begin to see also the direction towards universal slavery, of which universal equality is the beginning. It is also a maxim with republicans that the best people are the least governed. This places the population under the least national legislation possible, while at the same time, according to the law of contracts, corporate regulations are binding upon all parties concerned. Now, when the voters are placed upon a platform of individual interest, their interest being in the pay they derive as laborers from the corporations employing them, they are controlled by the by-laws of said corporation and such corporations control the government. It is the old story of the Roman republic over again—when the senators marched their citizen-slaves to vote for their masters as president or emperor; and they ground these citizen-slaves until they did their bidding. The announcement of universal suffrage is the disenfranchisement of the small proprietors, whose interests are null before the majority of servile employés of the great corporations mar-

shalled to the polls. Besides, by making the standard of the electors of so little worth, and the offices of so great power, by multiplying the number of voters, the corporations have a greater despotism in a republic than the Czar in Russia; for the Czar can do no more than the ancient customs of the realm permit; but the corporations can infringe, by making whatever alterations they please, supported as they are by the majority in their pay. Moreover, I perceive that the commune is nothing but the conglomeration of corporations in government, under which the individual has nothing and is forbidden to earn more than he can eat, while the state has all the property, and the state is managed by office-holders, who, with the immense patronage the control of so many corporations give them, and by the slavery to which they have reduced the people—will have the mightiest despotism ever beheld, capable of continuing themselves in power and keeping the people forever slaves. Indeed, it is supposed by antiquarians that Eastern despotism originated in this manner, i. e.—when the control of the Asiatic tribes, composed chiefly of elders, allotted each man his share of stock, and kept the surplus for the general demand nominally, but really for the promotion of their own general power as Khan over the tribes.

Poppenheim : Ah ! Regnies, you too are becoming a monarchist !

Regnies : Not at all, as yet. I am willing to acknowledge my enlightenment as fast as it occurs, but until all my objections are removed I am not a convert. But I have also discovered that, on account of the abstraction of the state, in republics, the obligation of the state and national honor are not so strongly felt, and personal honor is of less account than worldly popularity. But what I should like to know is something more about the royalist society in America. How does the government tolerate it ?

Spottswood : The government, I dare say, would like to blot it out in blood and ashes ; but, unfortunately for the demagogues, the founders of the republic, having grave doubts in regard to the virtue and stability of republics and of their consonance with the national honor and interest, left it open to be decided by future generations whether the form of govern-

ment should be changed to some other or not. It is declared with this intent in the Constitution, that "No man shall be persecuted for political opinions, however publicly expressed." A monarchical party might legitimately be organized in the United States at this or any other time; and, by complying with the regulations for changing, might abolish presidential elections and extend the term of office into the regular succession of some family, which family becoming thus part of the state, would feel the obligation of the state resting upon it, so that all after official appointments would be made in the interest of the state, not in that of party as now.

Poppenheim : Yes, sir. I remember when I travelled in America some years ago, there were a great many leading men who seriously entertained the plan of forming an imperial party with Gen. Grant as candidate for third-term; and that they were to consolidate power during that term to place him in for life and make the succession in his family.

Spottswood : That is all nonsense. Grant might make a good emperor, but such an undertaking would never succeed. No man in America advanced by any one of the political parties could succeed in such. Some man must be taken about whom the leaders of all parties, and above all, the ancient historic society of the country, could rally. If Washington had left descendants, the heritage of the kingly offer of the Cincinnati might be revived to them. The man put up for such a purpose must be unpartizan, connected with the history and independence of the country. As Washington has left no descendants there are the Lafayettes and Rochambeaux. It is well known to Americans, that at the most dismal time of the war of '76, when their fortunes were fallen in the dust, their spirits troubled and oppressed; when there were even talks of submission, the young Marquis de la Fayette, in spite of prohibitions of his own government—then at peace with Great Britain—raised with his own money ships and men and sailed to fight in the cause of American independence. It is well known to Americans that without that aid the British would have triumphed. The United States owe their present liberty to Lafayette. Now if a monarchical party of the people was formed in America with the lineal representative of Lafayette

as its choice, how great and enthusiastic would be the multitude to embrace his cause; what ancient memories would be excited of common struggles and soldierly fidelity to ornament as with trophies the highest sentiment of patriotism! The Constitution of the United States might remain as it now is. All offices to be elected except that of President, which would be in the family of Lafayette; and the President, not influenced by demagogues, or party interest, would administer the affairs of state and appoint the commissioned officers in the interest of the commonwealth, assisted by his own cabinet of ministers. The curse of monopolies, foreign to government, would be abated, if not entirely done away with, in the consolidation of the administrative power with the permanent state.

Regnies : I behold, according to your past exposition, the same danger of parliamentary monopoly and rebellion on the part of the Senate and House that of old happened in France under the regency of Ann with Mazarine for minister.

Spotswood : Very true. But the powers of the President of the United States are greater than those of the Queen of Great Britain, and by far than were those of Queen Ann's government in France; and with the interest of government upon the part of the cabinet, the work of corporations upon the Senate and House would be ineffectual. The impeachment power of Congress would be removed, as that is only to be exercised against appointed or elected officers. Under the new condition of affairs it could only be used against the ministers, the advisers of the new President. It is true, the relations between the President's cabinet and Congress would have to be revised, and this is all the change necessary. Besides, *Honor* could then raise its head. Men could have a stimulus for loftier ambition in political fame, instead of for vulgar self-interest or corporate bonds. The distinctions of the state conferred upon those famous in good works of bravery, honor and genius would rear a class as a bulwark between the sacred trust of the people and the eager and dishonest rush of demagogues and public robbers.

Regnies : But are there not many barriers in the Constitution of the United States besides the one you mention, pro-

viding for periodical election of presidents? Are there not provisions against the State or government granting titles of nobility, of which the order of the Cincinnati seems to be a description? And then, it declares the candidates for presidency must be native-born.

Spottswood: What you say is true. Yet the Order of the Cincinnati was instituted before the Constitution was formed. The Constitution and treatises made in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land. But they are of effect only from the date of their origin. The Constitution does not declare that there shall be no nobility in the United States; but forbids the government creating any by titles. Now the Cincinnati was instituted May, 1783; the Constitution was adopted 1789. We, in America, do not wish for the government to create a nobility. Society will form one of ancient and tried material. All the government need do is to establish a heraldic college for the registration of arms and pedigree to be under control of the Aryan Order of America, which embraces descendants of all the orders of colonial nobility and knighthood, the American members of foreign peerages and gentry-families. We do not wish for any privileged class in the sense used in Great Britain. But by placing the continuous history of society in its political relations, as here proposed, the best society, from such organization and intelligence, would not be without its just influence in government to the ethical advantage of state. In speaking of that constitutional objection to the candidacy of the La Fayette family—that some of them were not born in the United States—is a trivial matter, and has been suggested in the former government as worthy of change. There have been constitutional changes of a more marked degree than this would be. After all, what has been suggested for the platform of the royalist party in America amounts to but little in difference to the present party platform. It might be drawn up in the following words—1. The establishment of the office of President hereditarily in the family of the late Marquis de La Fayette. 2. "Free trade and sailors' rights." No industry, or corporation, shall be protected by government at the expense of others. No monopoly of moneyed interest in the state. I will not go over and enum-

rate advantages already illustrated by past discussions to be in this method. They are known to you.

Von Poppenheim : Your plan is certainly a good one. It reminds me of what that other American, Count Johannes, proposed to the British court to settle up all difficulties between Britain and America—only he proposed that the Duke of Edinburgh should be taken by the United States and Canadian governments together, as their chief. His was a plan too cumbrous; and however much it might meet the favor of the British people was not well-received in America, except by a few: for the reason that it was not in consonance with the sentiment of American history as this La Fayette plan is.

Regnies : Well! Let us return to France. The republic means peace—you have already truthfully explained why; because it possesses no longer those lofty and dangerous attributes of which nations are fearful and jealous. Is this not well!

Spottswod : The state is a man. So long as the man's best thoughts rule, the man is elevated in deeds and is being slowly transformed into a higher nature. The molecules of his being are perfected. When a nation is great and illustrious it is because of the men who rule it. The reputation of the state long-continued in this becomes a mental effect upon the national character, and the whole people are stimulated by it. The Spaniards of to-day are as their ancestors of the days of Philip II in everything but the immediate effect of the memory of great deeds. The power of that majestic sovereignty in the days of old, like the best thought of man in the hour of its ruling, lent invincibility to the Spanish arms and called, as a stimulus, for gallant response in every department of life. Encouragement given to the best men in such a time serves to confirm the molecules of state, which are its citizens, in the same manner that encouragement given by a man to his best thoughts confirm his constitution to goodness. The memory of France is great. The memory of man has a great effect over mind in preparing it for action. The greatness of memory, in France, is with the kingdom. The kingdom is with the greatest men. The return of the kingdom will restore integrity to France before Europe and the world: lead the national

life higher and away from the low precedents of the republic, from reminiscences of shame, and liberate the state from the men of shame who now control it,

Regnies : That may be very well. I am beginning to feel an interest in the monarchy such as I never thought to feel. But as this interest grows there grows with it a knowledge of the difficulties in the way of its restoration. The first of these is with Germany. It is believed that war, to regain Alsace and Lorraine, would be popular under the monarchy, as compatible with its traditions and policy and with the history of France during the best period. This is what the Germans fear. They therefore threaten to consider a change of government in France as a change of attitude towards themselves which they will anticipate by hostility ; because a change from what is now of "peace" means war.

Spottswood ; Yes! I have heard of that story. It is the fanfaronade of republicanism to frighten the industrial classes who might favor monarchy, by showing the disaster it would bring. Yet the Germans are in continuous political danger so long as the republic remains in France. Demagogues—wolves in sheep's clothing—abound, and their shortcomings are patched up by the energy of fanatics, who are hypocrites also, and who impose upon the ignorant credulity of the people by "views" of the republic. The Germans were united to restore royalty in France at one period, and their fear of republics has not lessened since. Besides, the destinies of the two nations are so widely separated that war is not only difficult to conceive, but almost impossible to imagine if the royalists assure the German government that their attitude—when in power—will be peaceful also, with adherence to previous treaties. Is that not so Poppenheim ?

Poppenheim : Yes! But now although I am a royalist, I should like to ask if it is good policy to say that monarchies fear republican doctrine —since it implies that kings fear their own people ?

Spottswood : It might lead to such a suspicion. The ruling of the present republics in America and France, is conducted under laws which existed and were instituted under kingdoms —such as the Common Law of England in the United States,

and the Constitution of the United States so like the Constitution of Great Britain, and the Civil Law of the Emperor Justinian in France. This, of itself goes to prove that the interest of the people are identical in the two forms of government, only that the administrations are different. How those administrations differ is known already.

Regnies : You have said that the realization of the monarchy is the bringing of greater men, with more honorable and glorious precedents, to the front. Yet you assure Germany that the treaties with her will remain intact. How can this be when those treaties are humiliating to France ?

Spottswood : They are humiliating to France, but the humiliation may be effaced in another way while the treaties remain. You remember the best exponent of the monarchy was Richelieu. His policy was to ensure the integrity of France by freeing the German states from Austrian control and to separate the policy of that nation from the Spanish interest. Until this was accomplished France was likely to become a part of the Universal Dominion at which those united countries were aiming. After the integrity of France was secured from external violence, it was the policy of Richelieu to subordinate the encroaching power of the feudal aristocracy on the one hand that sought to make treaties with foreign powers independent of the government whenever the execution of the law displeased it, and, on the other hand, to curb the domineering spirit of the parliament which was endeavoring to execute the laws itself and to subordinate the monarchy to its will. Richelieu was able to carry out his undertaking in this respect: but as there was no constitutional check established, the efforts of his successor, Mazarine, were sometimes ineffectual, sometimes perverted, almost always accompanied with that nefarious practice of both monarchy and parliament—the selling of public offices. In relation to the external greatness of France, Richelieu relied upon commerce and colonies. All over the globe French colonies were established, and the navy of France equalled the hitherto invincible navy of Great Britain. At the present time, Germany is supreme in military affairs on the European continent, but France, by planting colonies and building a naval superiority would annul the former's

military efforts. There is Mexico, with which a treaty to purchase a province for settlement, would result in French preponderance in that country. The same might happen among the rich provinces of Central and South America. It is no use talking of the United States Monroe doctrine which is dissonant with international law and in carrying out which the United States would find themselves in a war with all Europe. The United States has no right to assume a dictatorial spirit in relation to whatever treaties two nations may make for the purchase of provinces in the New World. If it does this, it must be prepared to maintain a dictator's position by force of arms over the nations of the earth. The mere assumption of such is an international insult.

Regnies : In restoring the monarchy, we shall want the constitutional check spoken of by you for an assurance, as well as a representation of all classes in the government.

Spottswood : That is the trouble with republics. A true republic, like Florence, has all classes represented in government, but as government is not independant of Republican election for its formation, it is always formed of the most powerful class, which, considering the diversity between class—interest and state—interest, makes of government a monopoly. A false republic, like the United States, has a representation of all classes in the one which universal sufferage describes and this makes the worst kind of monopoly for the meanest interest of the community : so that in republics, all classes are not represented in government, because some one of these predominate and form government. With government already formed and coextensive with the state, so that their interests are identical—as in that permanent form of a monarchy—all classes may, indeed, be represented upon the basis of a determinate constitution. With an hereditary President, the constitution of the United States is the best yet. This might be adopted by the French monarchy—the king having the powers of the American President, the Senate formed by an election of forty members of the nobility by the nobility, the assembly formed by an election of representatives of the people by the people. In America the Senate might be formed by an election of members by the Aryan Order in each state. In inaugurating this form of government in France and in America, the Promethean liberty of mankind would be liberated from the Republican vultures of License.

Here amidst great applause of men of all parties who had assembled during the conversation, M. Regnies proposed the health of the Comte de Paris, and drank to the happy issue of the cause.

